585 [684] probably by pricking himself, and will wipe it on the toga.

About two weeks after the wedding, the bride and groom take a lamb or a goat and go to spend a few days with the bride's parents. The Bedouin say that the relationship between the groom and his in-laws is extremely important. The man should treat his wife's mother and father as if they were his own. "When a man's father-in-law and mother-in-law come to visit him, he must slaughter a lamb for them. He must respect both of them. Remember, this man and woman are the grandparents of his children."

585 606 [574]

The marriage, then, is only the first step in the ritualization of new group bonds established between the families of the bride and groom. Bonds are subsequently intensified through a process of visitation, gift-exchange and sacrifice. The most important factor linking the two groups is the actual presence of the bride in the midst of her husband's group, for she remains, in terms of the patrilineal principle, a member of her father's lineage. This is made perfectly clear by the fact that she is referred to, never by her name but, by the name of her tribal grouping if she is other than 'Aishaibi. If she is of the 'Aishaibat tribe, she will be referred to as bint of so-and-so. Hence the Bedouins stress the importance of extra-group bonds by referring to the women in their residence group as al-Qinaishiyya or al-Kamailiyya, for instance (-iyya is the Arabic feminine marker).

585 671 182 [574] [431] [782] *[613]

585 *613 •551 571 182 [193]

182 marker).

*613 •551 571 [585] In al-Qasr, if a man's mother is 'Aishaibiiya, he will refer to her as ummi ("my mother"): if she is otherwise, he will refer to her by the tribal tag, i.e. al-Qinaishiyya. A man will also add the name of his mother's tribe, to identify himself with the tribe and to symbolize tribal links, as an appendage to his own full name. The use of the maternal appendage by an individual links him to his mother's tribe through the idea of what Peters (1960:29) has called "the concept of the one womb of maternal origin."

In the case of al-Qasr, this maternal appendage refers to links with the mother's tribe at the primary level (see Figure 9). For instance, two brothers of the Bait Abd al-Malik might wish to differentiate between their maternal origins for some reason or other; one would refer to himself as Yunis Abd al-Malik al-Kamailiyya and, the other as Jabril Abd al-Malik al-Qinaishiyya. This is shown in Figure 9, page 125.

*613 604 [182] Although a person is obviously related to the mother's tribe through the mother, this matrilateral structural relationship is expressed as one between the individual and his mother's brother's tribe. The set of relationships surrounding the sister's son-mother's brother dyad is central to Bedouin political organization; it is the basis for the formation of relations of alliance along cognatic lines.

FIGURE 9 - USE OF MATERNAL APPENDAGE OR SUFFIX

The sister's son-mother's brother relationship receives a high degree of attention in al-Qasr. No other kinship relationship except for that between the father and the son is better defined. Peters (1965:135) sees the importance of the sister's son-mother's brother relationship to be based on the need for economic symbiosis. This factor, but also the necessity for political cooperation, probably account for the central significance of this relationship. One chief political value, i.e., one type of behavior valued by the group and relevant to the political process (see LeVine 1960), which Bedouin children learn relates to the desire to avoid conflict, especially if it concerns their mothers' tribes. Children are taught that any quarrel, however slight at first, could conceivably grow to become a large-scale tribal war.

619 Awlad Ali themselves are divided into three major sections: Ahmar
173 (the Reds); Abiad (the Whites); and Senenah. Each of these sections is referred to as "tribe" and sometimes "tribes." The first two major sections, those of Ahmar or the Reds and Abiad (Whites), are named after their mothers, the wives of Ali (founder of Awlad Ali). The Whites are named after their white mother, and the Reds after their Sudanese mother who, owing to her dark complexion, was known as El-Hamra (the red one).

613 In the past, writers such as Robertson-Smith (1903) have inter-
114 preted the reference to female names in patrilineal genealogies as in-
• 55 dicating an earlier matrilineal descent. I tend to agree with a more
[595] recent writer, E. Peters (1959), who explains the reference to female ancestors by two factors: patrilineal descent and polygyny. According to him, it is a way of distinguishing full brothers from half brothers and a means to show this genealogically. "The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves a sense to enforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name . . . is that it is symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level." (p.29).

613 This can be further supported by evidence from my own data which
55 show that reference to female names occur more frequently in charts
173 where tribal names rather than proper names are used. In genealogies
619 using proper names, informants rarely, if ever, trace their descent to an ancestress. But when charts of tribal names are used, it is not

613 uncommon to find reference to female names. This indicates that it is
551 only when the unity of the full brothers becomes politically signifi-
173
619 cant that the name of the mother rather than the name of the father is
used. This may explain why the occurrence of female names in Awlad Ali
595 genealogies is not as common as one might expect judging from the fre-
quency of polygynous marriages among the group.

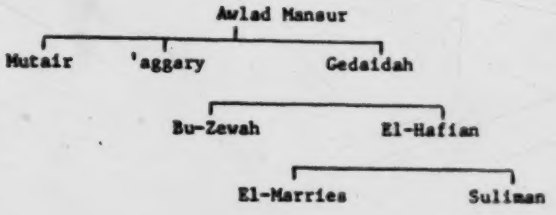
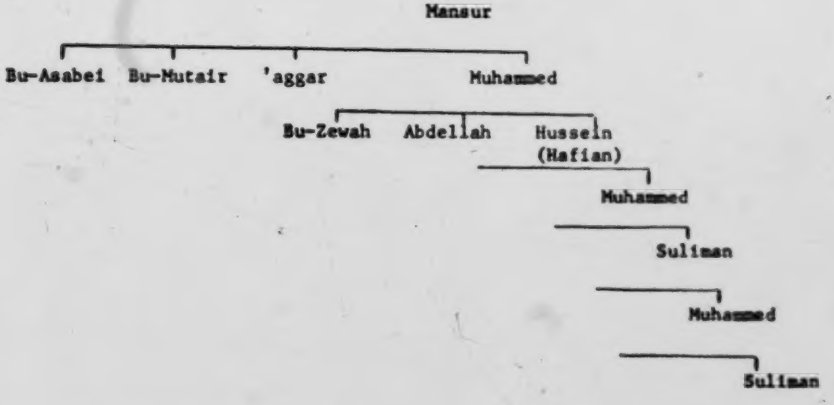


Fig. 3. Recognized tribal segments of Awlad Mansur (a segment of Awlad Ali)



613 The two charts show the same unit of Awlad Mansour. The first of
619 the two charts shows the tribal segments in which Eilat Gedaida (a fe-
173
551 male name) appears as one of the segments. When the actual genealogical chart of one of the living members of that segment was drawn, descent was traced to Mohammed, the husband of Gedaida, as shown on the second chart. In this case Gedaida is not a member of Awald Mansour segment. The unity of the full brothers is emphasized without changing the affiliation of the segment. It is simply a means of carrying on the patriline using the mother's name. This is not always the case, however. Examination of other cases in which the female name was used reveals the fact that in certain instances using the female name is a means of carrying on the line of descent through a daughter. This meant incorporating within the tribal segment a whole group of individuals who otherwise would have belonged to a different patriline. Carrying the line through
613 the daughter in this manner has the same result as adopting her husband
619 unto the tribe. The question then is why wasn't adoption used. Exami-
551 nation of the two cases in which this happened indicates that a possible
597 explanation may be that this occurs whenever the husband is unadoptable. Adoption is possible whenever a man does not have any tribal affiliation.
613 In one of the two cases the husband belonged to the Gemei'at tribe, a
619 Murabiteen tribe which enjoys a relatively higher status than the
551 other Murabiteen tribes by virtue of their being the original settlers
597 of the area and helping the Awald Ali in their fight with the Hanadi,
554 yet compared to Awlad Ali proper occupies an inferior position. In this case, relating to the patriline of the mother carried with it a

613 definite political advantage. In the second case in which the female
619 name was used, the husband was a member of the Bara'asa tribe of Libya.
551 Although this tribe is one the powerful tribes of Libya, it has no
599 political influence in the Egyptian Western Desert. Changing affilia-
554 tion carried with it the strong political support of the mother's tribal segment.

619 In general the Reds occupy the western half of the coastal area of
131 the Western Desert from the town of Matruh westward to the Libyan border, while the Whites occupy the eastern part which stretches to Alexandria. The Senenah are fairly scattered although their largest concentration is located in the extreme western part overlapping that of the Reds. The territorial division of the area among the three major sections of Awlad Ali is not a strict one. Historical evidence shows that there has been
[194] a considerable tribal displacement throughout the area. This displacement occurred mainly during the intratribal war era and during the Second World War when the area was a main battlefield. In general, however, there is a significant relationship between territorial distribution and tribal segmentation, and this is especially true on the higher levels of segmentation than on the lower ones.

619 Each of the three sections of the apex of a three-tiered order of
613 segments which, following the native usage, will be called Kabila (tribe), Eila (family), and Bait (house).

619 The first order referred to as tribes are structurally equivalent
193 units but of highly variable size. Each of them has its traditional history. Some of these histories are important to the tribe as a whole.

613 it was impossible to verify the actual facts or to know what exactly
682
683 happened. But since the parties involved are still alive and since these
672 events are closely related to present-day happenings, the case is still
558 alive in the minds of the parties involved as well as those of outsiders-
(124) Naturlaly, each party tries to present the facts in such a way as to
613 support his own claims. Shei'eb, for example, insists that Hakim had
682
683 bribed members of bait Asabei' to refuse to pay their share in order to
156 embarrass him and make him appear as unable to perform his duties as
558 Aqila. "Hakim always had his eyes on becoming the Aqila of bait Asabei'," said Shei'eb, "but he had no business becoming the Aqila, so he had to make me look bad to the other Awaqil.... He likes to be looked up to as a big man, but it wouldn't work." While other members of bait Asabei' deny that Hakim had bribed them, they agree with Shei'eb that Hakim is a
156 dishonest man. In fact, Hakim's reputation is so widespread in the area
551 that it has earned him the nickname of "the thief". The nickname was
788 given to him a few years ago when he went to Mecca for a pilgrimage with
685 another fellow tribesman. The latter told the story that while in Mecca Hakim had found a purse with two hundred pounds in it. He was supposed to return the purse to the authorities or it would be considered as stealing if he kept it. Stealing in Mecca is not only a crime but also a great sin which makes the holy trip void for the offender. Hakim told his companion that he had given the purse to the authorities. But later, on their way back from Mecca, the friend found the purse hidden in Hakim's luggage. When the story was known in the area, he was referred to as
156 "the thief". Other accounts of Hakim's dishonesty are told throughout
685 the area, including stories of how he acquired his wealth through stealing
439

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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[P. 363]

EMRYS PETERS

18. *The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica [Libya]*[1]

In this article I do not propose to discuss the genealogies of the Cyrenaican Bedouin in full, but only such aspects of them as are strictly relevant to an understanding of their process of growth. Many other aspects of these genealogies will be referred to, and indeed, some of the arguments put forward will presume an acceptance of views which cannot be developed adequately in this article. A fuller and more general account of Cyrenaican genealogies is in preparation, and, until this is published, there is no alternative to the somewhat dogmatic statements about them which appear in the introductory part of this article.

The Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants of a unique ancestress, Sa'ada. Writers in the past (e.g. Robertson-Smith 1903) have considered the occurrence of female names in patrilineal genealogies as evidence of an earlier and matrilineal mode of descent. A more satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of female names is to be found in the combination of two facts: descent in the patriline, whether or

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[1] My field work among the Cyrenaican Bedouin was made possible by an award from the Emslie Horniman Fund and a later award from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish here to express my indebtedness to both committees for their generosity. Much of the work I have done on genealogies was included in a thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University in 1951. The ideas included in this thesis I developed more systematically in a course of lectures on the Bedouin which I gave at Manchester University during the session 1953–54. I subsequently read papers around the problems discussed in this paper at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. I am grateful to Professor Gluckman for reading this article in manuscript, and for the numerous discussions I have had with him on problems relating to lineage organization.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

not male names are used, is assumed; and secondly that the Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If differentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be effected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

[2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

The Proliferation of Segments

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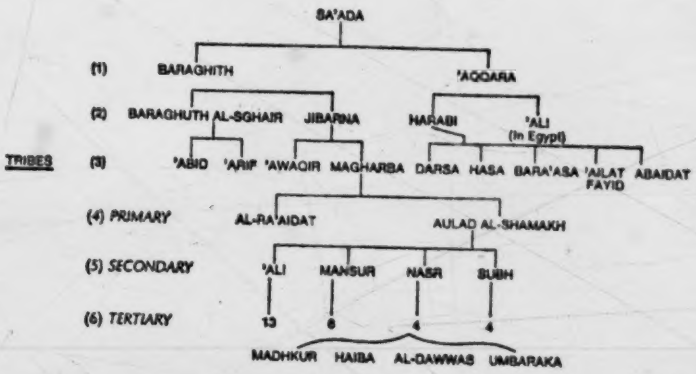

FIG. 18-1 GENEALOGY 1. The names given in this genealogy are the tribal names in use. All are derivatives of personal names of ancestors, like all tribal names, except for some nicknames (e.g. Baraghith means 'the fleas') and a few which refer to a general location (e.g. the Magharba means the 'Westerners').

first four descending generations is two. At the fifth level the number increases to four and finally, at the sixth level there characteristically occurs a marked irregularity in the number of descendants forming the founding ancestors of the tertiary sections.

Another feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that its branches show an intimate relationship with ecological areas. Thus, the major division into two branches stemming from Sa'ada represents the eastern and western halves of the country with associated and clear differences in ecology. Continuing the line of descent, the Jibarna and Baraghith groups of tribes occupy plain and mountain foot-hills respectively. The two Jibarna tribes in turn occupy two distinct kinds of plain. Following now the division of the Magharba tribe, its two primary sections are divided by a very conspicuous dry valley. The four secondary divisions of the Aulad ash-Shamakh primary section likewise show a relation to ecological boundaries, albeit on a smaller scale than those previously referred to, but none the less important in this more local context. Finally, the unevenly numbered tertiary sections which are derived from these four

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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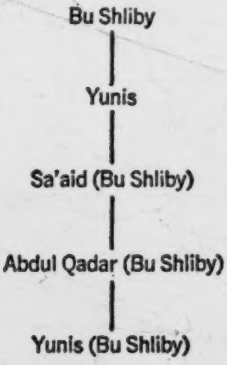
tion which enable the genealogy to remain constant in length and fixed in form despite its dynamic content.

One of the main processes at work in foreshortening genealogies is that referred to by Evans-Pritchard as telescoping.[8] This process is also a characteristic feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy, although its effects, to be discussed presently, differ conspicuously. The way in which telescoping works in the Cyrenaican genealogy is that several male names come to be omitted in the genealogy below the name of the founding ancestor of the tertiary group. Usually, the form in which this occurs it that the name of a famous tribesman, and particularly his nickname if he has one, is retained along with the personal names of his lineal descendants in successive generations. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Haiba tertiary section of the Magharba tribe:



[8] 'It is evident, moreover, that since the minimal lineage consists of four or five actual steps in ascent, there has been telescoping of the agnatic line from the founder of the minimal lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan, for the founder of the minimal lineage was himself the extremity of another minimal lineage which has, by increase in generations, become the minor lineage, and so on' (Fortes & Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 199). Since Evans-Pritchard first wrote on the telescoping of genealogies among the Nuer, other anthropologists have discussed the process in various systems. Fortes, Richards, Laura Bohannan, Cunnison, and Mitchell in their writings on the Tallensi, Bemba, the Tiv, the Luapula people, and the Yao respectively are notable examples . . . As the mode of manipulation of Bedouin genealogies is marginal to my present problem, the main comparison is not with these works but with Evans-Pritchard's earlier work on the Nuer, because the Bedouin and Nuer lineage system have more in common than either have with the other systems, excepting possibly the Tiv.

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173 The line shows five male names in all. The eldest surviving mem-
178 bers of this line is Sa'aid, who almost invariably is referred to,
613 not by his personal name, but as Bu Shliby,[9] and on the infre-
• 551 quent occasions when his personal name is used it is followed by Bu Shliby and not by his father's name, which is the more common practice. Again, Abdul Qadar, when his father is not about, is called Bu Shliby, and when it is necessary to give him his personal name Bu Shliby is added, except among his more intimate family kindred, when only his personal name would be used. Likewise, his son Yunis carries Bu Shliby in addition to his personal name and is sometimes even referred to as Bu Shliby only. Abdul Qadar had never known his grandfather, was aware however of his existence in the past, but did not feel it necessary to use his name, and whatever obligation he might have felt to keep the memory of his grandfather alive, he fulfilled it when he named his son after him. Many of the older members of the group are also aware of the lineal connexions between Bu Shliby and Yunis, even though they use this knowledge in a genealogical context only, but many of the younger men of the group do not know these details. It is clear that when the boy Yunis grows to old age, three names in this line will have ceased to be used.

This practice of adding to a personal name the name of a deceased ancestor making one the son of the other, is pushed to the extent of carrying forward through the generations a nickname which referred to some peculiar characteristic of the ancestor, but which has little relation to the present bearer. Thus the ancestor whose name has been retained might have been nicknamed 'The Lame One' or 'The Squint-Eyed One' because he suffered either of these personal defects; or he might have been nicknamed 'The Old One' because he lived to a ripe old age. Such nicknames might later be carried by men who are not lame, nor squint-eyed, nor old, while the names of the intervening ancestors are dropped in normal use.

Another process is at work, which needs to be distinguished from telescoping, for although the results in genealogical terms are similar, Bedouin view it in quite a different light. This is the [553] process of fusing names. It is common practice among the Bed-

[193] [9] The prefix *Bu* is used by the Bedouin to mean 'son of.'

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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ouin—and, for that matter, Arabs in other lands—to name a boy after a deceased relative. Rarely is a boy named after his father, unless the father's death occurs before the boy is born, in which circumstance, the new-born boy would certainly take his father's name. A much more common form of this practice is to name a boy after his grandfather, assuming the latter to be dead. The eldest son usually accepts this responsibility, but it by no means falls invariably to him. There is a number of reasons for this, but they need not concern us here, since they are of no relevance to the general argument. What is of concern at present is that one name in the genealogy might represent the fusion of several other similar names. When circumstances permit, an individual's line might run as follows: Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad. It is true that the man himself and those closely related to him might know full well that there are three men named Muhammad and two named 'Ali, but it would not be considered irregular if only one Muhammad and one 'Ali were given in the genealogy. A mature man, giving his genealogy, omitted his father's name, Ibrahim. When asked about the omission, he insisted that he had given it, and when he was told that the name Ibrahim given by him was intended to refer to his young son, he impatiently dismissed the matter with the observation that having given the name Ibrahim once, it mattered little whether it had been put in the position of his son or father. Pointing to his son he added, 'There is my father, Ibrahim. He has taken my father's position, has he not?'

By the fusion of names, several persons drop out of the genealogy, and by and by, the line comes to be shortened. It also has the effect of giving a person's name a weighting which otherwise it would not possess. In a sense, a young son named after a father is not merely a son but a father and possibly a great-grandfather also. The young boy becomes the contemporary carrier of the personalities of those of similar name who have preceded him, while the behaviour of the living towards him is, in virtue of this, affected in a number of details. A man who had named his son in this way, explained the matter thus: 'He is my son, but also my father because he has his name. I cannot beat him for it would be like beating my father. When he grows up and I grow old, he will look after me as if I were his son.'

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Cyrenaica

Fusion of names appears in another context and for similar reasons. Not only are lineal descendants given the name of deceased ancestors, but a man may be given the name of any deceased agnate of his tertiary section. Usually, this is only done when a man passes on property to another who is not his direct heir. Commonly, this occurs when an agnate is also a mother's brother, as often happens as a result of parallel cousin marriage, and this mother's brother has no sons of his own. If he has a sister's son, who is also his paternal nephew, he is likely to pass on his wealth to this nephew. A father, the Bedouin insist, ought to perform three duties for his sons: attend to their circumcision, and their education in the Koran, and provide bride-wealth when they marry. All fathers attend to the circumcision of all their sons; few provide for the Koranic education of any of their sons; most bear the burden of marrying off at least one of their sons. The performance of the latter duty is what makes the continuance of the deceased's name an obligation, and whoever performs this duty must have his name perpetuated in one male offspring of the union which was brought about with his wealth. Wealth need not take the form of bride-wealth; it can be a legacy willed by a father, maternal uncle of the kind described above, or any other agnate who has died without male issue. Conversely, if a man dies without leaving any property, even his sons might not perpetuate his name, and eventually it will drop out of the genealogy.[10] There are instances of men inheriting the wealth of a number of agnates, using each parcel of wealth to make a new marriage and naming the sons of the various unions after the several dead who had left wealth. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Dawwas section of the Magharba tribe. What happened here was that the two lines stemming from Faraj and Sha'aban, after proliferating normally, became extinct. As this happened, Ibrahim, the son of Miftah, began to inherit wealth to which he was not a direct heir; and

[10] To avoid confusion, it ought to be made clear that this is not ghost marriage. As I understand ghost marriages from Evans-Pritchard's (1951) account, two main conditions must be satisfied: (i) that there should be inherited wealth to make a marriage, and (ii) that the wealth remaining after the ghost marriage has been made is inherited by the ghost children only. In Cyrenaica, wealth thus inherited becomes part of a man's total wealth and is not reserved for a ghost marriage and its issue.

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as he did so, he entered into a plurality of marriages, begat sons, and replaced those men in the genealogy who had died without heirs. In the following generation the twin process of death and replacement continued. Death removed all the male descendants of Sha'aban and Faraj, and of Ibrahim Bu Miftah's many sons only two, Sharif and Abdallah, were of age to marry at the time of my visits to their camp. Both had enjoyed a plurality of wives, although still young to have done so, and each marriage they contracted took place after the death of one of their kinsmen. The full and intricate details of this interesting genealogy are irrelevant here, since all the example is intended to show is how nine of eleven male names were perpetuated in the genealogy by repeating five of them twice and four of them three times, accounting in all for twenty-two names; and to do this, three men (one of them had died, but the other two were both under forty years of age) married eight wives. All the names in the two lines which have died out have not yet been brought back into the genealogy, but 'Abdallah, the son of Ibrahim, who had already done extremely well in this respect, was confident that soon the obligations towards Musa, Abd al-Rahim, and Sa'ad would be redeemed.

Thus the fusion of names not only ensures that names threatened with extinction are perpetuated, but that one person, in the name he bears, can carry the genealogical burden of several other men of that name.

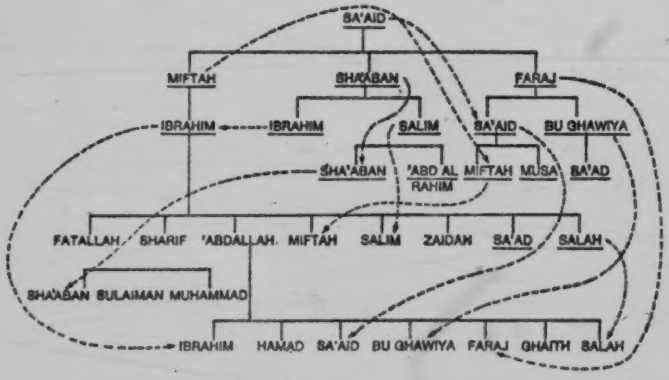

FIG. 18-2 GENEALOGY 2. The names of dead men are underlined.

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Cyrenaica

173 Telescoping of names, and fusion of names, taken together,
178 can account for the fixity of the genealogy to a large extent. In
551 addition, lines which showed every sign of normal development
613 at one time, have petered out completely, even after they have sometimes assumed the status of tertiary segments. Conditions
173 under which this is likely to happen are not difficult to envisage.
178 If hearsay evidence is correct, disease, when it strikes in the
551 desert, might rage in a camp like wild fire, bringing death to
613 many, but not spreading to other camps, because the camps are
731 so far apart. Even in springtime when men and beasts are to-
361 gether in the pastures, and the larger summer camp has split into four or five smaller ones, the distance between camps may still be
[221] a few miles. In summer, when camps are concentrated on the large watering points, the distances between them are considerably more. Disease, therefore, does not spread from camp to camp as rapidly as one might expect in such primitive conditions of living. In 1949 a number of men of a small camp died within a
[761] few days of each other. Bedouin opinion attributed these deaths
[784] to an allegedly false oath sworn by the deceased a year earlier. Medical opinion ascribed them to filth in a well which the deceased had been cleaning before their illness. In any event, a thriving line of a lineage was wiped off the genealogy. The por-
173 tion of the Dawwas genealogy shown on this page shows a
178 similar process at work. Again, to give another example, the Nasr
613 section of the Magharba tribe once included six tertiary sections, not four as are now given. Two of these six sections are now represented by only four men of whom two are too old and decrepit to have heirs any longer, and are unmarried in any case; a third, whose wife has long passed child-bearing age, had two sons, but both died before marriage; and the fourth, a very poor and old man, has only one daughter, and is a widower. Three of the four now live with their collateral tribal section, Madhkur, and count themselves members of this group. That they once belonged to two different groups might have passed unnoticed were it not that two elders of the Madhkur section insisted that they should be correctly placed and their entire genealogies be recorded. The younger men argued that although they were aware that the two groups named Farjiani and al-Khadhar at one time

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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drought giving insufficient pastures and poor crops. Good or bad crops, poor or abundant pasture, in turn mean a higher or lower milk yield from the animals and better or worse living conditions for human beings. Such factors as these may well, over a number of years, lead to unevenness in the distribution of population throughout the tertiary sections. Whatever the cause, the genealogies show that the population of the numerous tertiary sections is unequal. Some are numerically so weak that they have to join a collateral section. Others are numerically so strong that their natural resources are insufficient to meet the needs of all their members. It was these latter segments which were in the process of splitting, and which in some cases have already done so. The next task, then, is to demonstrate where, on the genealogy, proliferation is effected.

We have seen that in Nuer genealogies segments proliferate at all orders of segmentation. Here, the process is a continuous one, beginning at any point in time within the minimal lineage and progressing upwards to the apex of lineage bifurcation. As particular names become significant within the minimal segment, they are retained and become a permanent addition to the genealogy. In order to include these successively additional names, names of ascending ancestors are shunted further and further into the genealogical past, until presumably the effect is felt at the topmost limit of the genealogy, when the names here are pushed out of the genealogical framework altogether, and forgotten for ever. More than this, the upward shift in names at each and every point in the genealogical line means also a consequent re-ordering of structural relationships, at all levels in the system. One vital difference between Nuer and Bedouin societies which may partly, at least, account for the different genealogical processes at work among them is that the Nuer, when they were studied by Evans-Pritchard, were expanding territorially, and that continuous proliferation of segments throughout the structure was the mode of dealing with a situation of expansion. The Bedouin, on the other hand, had suffered twenty years of terrible privation at the hands of the Italians, during which period thousands of them died in battle and in concentration camps, were shot up in their camps from the air, or died from want, before I went to live among them. Although I must confess that I now

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Although I must confess that I now find it difficult to accept Evans-Pritchard's view of genealogical growth and development as stated for the Nuer, it was the view I originally held with regard to Bedouin genealogies. Indeed, thinking in genealogical terms only, it appears inevitable that the addition of successive generations can only mean the lengthening of the genealogy, or, if the length is to remain constant, extrusion of ancestral names must take place at the apex of the genealogy. If this view is to be accepted, several other conclusions must be accepted with it. The genealogy, as far as it goes at least, is an accurate record of descent—some names may have been lopped off at the top, but otherwise the genealogy represents a faithful statement of succession. Again, if successive generations are to be added to the genealogy, then its base must continually expand laterally. From what is known of contemporary Bedouin genealogies, there is no evidence which leads to the supposition that their base is progressively widening. With regard to the authenticity of the names in the genealogy, above the point of tertiary segmentation, I hope to show in a subsequent article on Bedouin genealogies in general, that names above the tertiary point of segmentation have remained fixed for very long periods of time, and that they bear slight relation to the passage of generations over the last century at least; moreover, in this article I hope to demonstrate that what manipulation of the genealogy takes place does not affect more than about four or five ascending generations from the living.

Part of the difficulty in a study of this sort lies in the strong temptation to think of the genealogy *per se*, even though it is readily admitted that it has a value in itself for the Bedouin. Yet even in these terms the genealogy must always represent an ordered grouping of people, and these people live on strips of territory. The starting point of the analysis then ought to begin with the territorial ordering of groups of people. The relation of groups of people to land, moreover, is determined by the carrying capacity of that land, and it is this prerequisite which is the main variable in discussing genealogical manipulation, and not the other way about. The main landmarks of the Cyrenaican ecology are fixed points which cannot be manipulated to fit in with the genealogy; it is the genealogy which must be altered to comprehend the distribution of people in their ecological setting.

stretching across to the village of Ajadabiya in the east, topples in undulations away into the flat expanses of the desert to the south. At all these points of segmentation, the territories occupied by the various sections are large and roughly defined, and the population aggregates supported on these territories run from over a thousand at one end to tens of thousands at the upper limits. The tertiary sections are numerically much smaller, some of them numbering as few as a hundred souls in all, and the territories to which they are attached are correspondingly smaller. The relationship between the numbers in this order of section, and the precise amount of water available in the local wells is an intimate one. If the population of one of these groups increases, or if the number of animals rises, or if the springs show a decline in the volume of water they give forth, or if the winter rainfall has allowed the storage in wells of only a small quantity of water, a rearrangement of the group must be effected. A significant alteration of any one of these components must mean that the local group must split to enable a new adjustment to be made in the relationship of man and animals to water.

Whatever changes occur within groups of any size, since the genealogy embraces the entire population, these must appear on the genealogy in some way or other. Now a genealogy is as rigid a framework, as fixed and final a pattern of grouping, as can be imagined. The impression that they are thus rigid and fixed, except for the addition of successive generations, is strengthened by the way in which the Bedouin use them. From their young boys to their old men, the Bedouin are expert genealogists, and the names of ancestors, for one reason or another, are never far from their lips. Names are kept alive by constant use, since all references to inter-group relationships must be in terms of these names. More than this, the Bedouin were proud to the point of boastfulness of their genealogical knowledge, and, wherever I travelled, the first request I had to comply with was to take down a large portion of a tribal genealogy. In recording their endless genealogies, one feature about them came to assume increasing interest; while there was remarkable unanimity with regard to most of the names given, there was one point of marked ambiguity—at the tertiary level of segmentation. I recorded genealogies in four tribes on an extensive scale, and in each tribe

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ambiguity surrounding the actual names and their correct position occurred at about the fifth ascending generation. Whenever this point was reached in the recordings, arguments would flare up over the names to be included or excluded and over the relation of these names to those above and below, with the result that for several people of the same segment there would be several versions of a genealogy which differed only at this one point. An example of this sort is given below from the genealogy of the Nasr section, which shows seven different versions of the arrangement of ancestors round about the fifth ascending generation from the living.

The confusion at and around the fifth ascending generation appeared with such regularity in the genealogies that I feel justified in referring to it as 'the area of ambiguity'. It seems likely, moreover, that in any society where the lineage structure is closely tied to the territorial disposition of groups, since the genealogy is so rigid, there needs to be in it somewhere an area of ambiguity if it is to be related to reality. Without this ambiguity, the form of the genealogy is too rigid to comprehend changes which occur. This point in the genealogy came to assume critical significance as the point where adjustments in it are made. Other kinds of evidence point to the same conclusion.

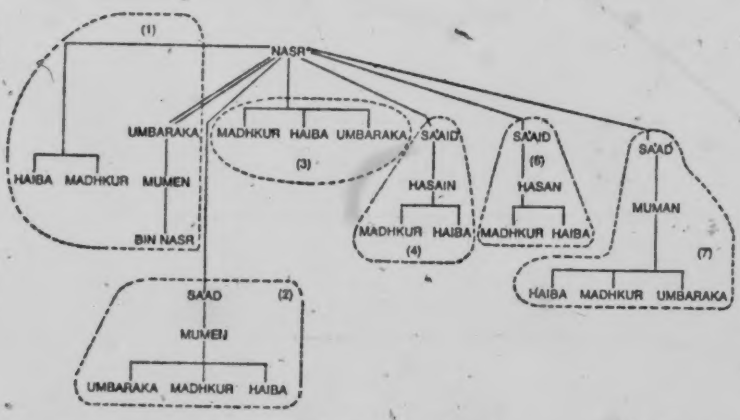

FIG. 18-3 GENEALOGY 3. *There is another section, al-Dawwas, which belongs to this group, but to include this as well would greatly complicate the issue without giving any additional information.

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the interests they have in their maternal relatives. Stated thus sharply, this is a distortion of the process. To speak of the principle of agnation conflicting with the principle of cognation or maternal origin is nonsense, as the facts included in the discussion show. Agnation is not one thing, but many. Within its scope are included such aspects of social organization as succession, status, inheritance, bride-wealth, blood-money, modes of domestic and political behaviour, and so forth; and each of these aspects, the closer we stick to reality, can be broken up into a number of components. The same can be said of cognation and maternal origin. All these principles, so called, are clusters of numerous component parts, which combine, in reality, in a kaleidoscopic number of ways. In one situation a component of one combines with that of another to strengthen it; in a different situation the one component may repel the other; in a third situation, a number of the components in one will combine to exclude those of the other, and so on. If, therefore, an understanding of the way in which lineage proliferation occurs is sought, a view of the process as a conflict between the principle of agnation and the opposing pull of maternal origin is quite erroneous. It is of use in predicting the direction of cleavage to know that within a tertiary group there are also clusters of kin which are defined roughly by maternal links, and this knowledge serves as a rough and ready guide in predicting what the composition of groups, after they have split away from the parent group, will be. If a more precise picture of this composition is desired, other and more complex kinship links and the behaviour which accompanies them must be taken into account. If a still more accurate picture is desired, details of inheritance disputes, debts of bride-wealth, the size of flocks and herds, and the like, must also be taken into consideration. If, finally, one has the opportunity to study groups after they have proliferated, the presence or absence of this or that man can often be explained only in terms of his eye for a pretty girl or a personal preference for neighbours.

The kind of change which has been discussed in this essay is not difficult to negotiate in genealogical terms. Earlier it was stressed that within the tertiary tribal sections, although they are always predominantly agnatic groups, clusters of cognatic

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613 602 121 178 621 173 551 kin also exist. Two ways of naming these clusters are adopted—all groups, whether they are elementary families, an odd assortment of kindred sharing a common tent for reasons of expediency, or tribal groups, have a name. Sometimes these clusters are named after a prominent living male, or a deceased kinsman of the same kind. Sometimes these little groups are named after a woman, perhaps the grandmother of the group.[15] Thus a small group of two or three tents will be distinguished from another similar cluster within the camp, and so on for a number of groups, depending on the size of the camp. Most camps, however many tents they contain, have names for progressively inclusive clusters of tents until a twofold named division is reached. Tertiary segments that are forced to split contain therefore two groups with names already attached to them. When a split occurs, the name of the tertiary segment is pushed into the area of ambiguity and the names of what were previously two clusters become the names of two new tertiary segments, with a minimum adjustment in usage and a minor re-shuffle at the tertiary level of segmentation. Names cannot continue to be pushed into this area of the genealogy interminably, otherwise it would gradually expand into a vast pool of names. For a few generations the name dispensed with in this way becomes one of those ancestors about whom there is argument when genealogies are given. In the course of time, name after name is subjected to the process of elision and eventually will cease to be of concern to anyone.

105 613 173 178 [551] I now summarize the main points of the discussion. The evidence that has been examined suggests that the mechanical devices of telescoping, fusion of names, and extinction of lines do not affect orders of segmentation superior to that of the tertiary order, and that in conditions of a completely stable population, these devices alone would suffice to retain the form of the genealogical structure. But, it was argued, conditions of complete stability cannot be assumed; the evidence of the present distribution of population among the numerous tertiary groups clearly points to marked fluctuations occurring within these small groups. This being so, proliferation of these groups in some areas at some

[15] The naming of groups within a tertiary segment is an interesting study in itself, but it would be outside the limits of this discussion to make more than a brief mention of it.

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times, must follow, and conversely, while proliferation takes place here, combination will be taking place elsewhere as the population of groups decreases. The condition which compels proliferation is the alteration in the relationship of man and animals to the natural resources; and when this alteration builds up to an acute pressure on water and land, one group of a divided segment must move off to seek water elsewhere.

The next task was to demonstrate where this kind of change occurred on the genealogy. The sudden irregularity in the number of segments at the tertiary order, compared with the uniformity at others, provided a clue. Other evidence also pointed to this as a significant order in this context: there is ambiguity displayed with regard to the identity and positioning of ancestors here; members adopted into a lineage are grafted on to it here; clients are attached to tertiary sections; groups of noblemen, when they are detached and move off to another tribe, break away at this point. This is where change occurs, but, it was agreed, in understanding the way in which it takes place, certain forms of marriage have to be taken into account. Particular emphasis was placed on cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, and to women outside the tertiary segment, since the effect of these forms of marriage is to produce two or more clusters of cognatic kindred in camps largely composed of agnates, and to emphasize the line of cleavage in a lineage segment. So that when, therefore, a split occurs, the line it takes is predetermined. Proliferation, even when necessary, does not finally come about, however, until an occasion permits the separation of groups to be demonstrated by a violation of the conditions of membership of a group. Details of three such occasions were offered: the demand for blood-money between agnates who previously had constituted a politically undivided section; behaviour contrary to the demands of agnatic kinship in attendance and gift-giving at funerals; and failure to participate in a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb of a particular section. But another query remained: how are the newly formed groups named? It was seen that names already in daily use by the small group of people concerned came to assume a new significance, while the name which had previously spanned them all is disregarded and pushed into the area of ambiguity whence later it is elided altogether.

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682 a rule by the return of the offender to his camp after the lapse of a number of years. A man who had already killed six people killed a seventh, his first paternal cousin. He and his brothers fled the tribe; he died in exile and it was not until some thirty [123] years later that his brother and nephew returned. Another man, who had killed his first paternal cousin, used my entry into a camp as the occasion for his re-entry, pitching his tent rope on rope with mine, and mine in turn was rope on rope with the tent of the camp's shaikh.[1]

621 682 613 [55] An effort is always made to hush up the matter when a homicide occurs within a tertiary section. It is for this reason that the name of the victim is not perpetuated. Normally it is an obligation to perpetuate the names of the deceased, especially when they have been killed in homicide, but in the circumstances now being discussed the name is suppressed. As one man expressed the general sentiments, stretching out his toga in front of him: 'Look at the hole in my toga; it would be better without it, but what can I do? Make it bigger? It is better to cover it up.' Any penal action taken against the offender could only enlarge the wound he had already opened. The notion of corporate identity is so strong that it eliminates the use of penal action against one of its members for the greatest offence of all. While overtly every effort is made to expunge the memory of a homicide of the sort described above, the Bedouin are most articulate in their views about the offender. He is referred to as one who 'defecates in the tent' thus likening him to an animal, for no human being would do this. Other expletives used in reference to him are: one who 'destroys the lineage', who 'corrupts the family'; he is one who 'brings confusion', who 'provokes God' and causes 'the evil of leprosy to eat into relationships'. Their feelings about the offender, who 'commits robbery internally', are summed up in the word *fitna*. This, in its Cyrenaican use, corresponds closely to the notion of sin as it is used in the Old Testament; in the sense, that is to say, of an act which causes an impasse in relationships, which creates chaos among a small group of related people, and produces internal calamity. And this is indeed the situation brought about by such homicide among the Bedouin. Flowing blood, they are wont to say, can only be staunched by blood (i.e. a vengeance killing), but if a man kills within a close agnatic range the corporate body continues to bleed. Nothing can be done. The group is left helpless, and this is sin.

The first step in this exposition, therefore, is to attach to homicide within a tertiary section the notion of its being *fitna*, carrying with it voluntary and temporary expulsion.

682 628 621 613 A homicide which involves two collateral tertiary sections is a different matter altogether, for now the parties constitute two discrete political groups. Political machinery can be set in motion to deal with the breach in relationships, and consequently a homicide of this sort does not pose the dilemma which is created when it occurs within a politically undivided group. Not only do agnates of two collateral tertiary sections behave towards each other as two groups of people, but the nature of their relationships is fundamentally different from those obtaining between mem-

682 a first cousin in cold blood because of a dispute between them over the ownership of a new-born kid. Although this was the only reason given by the Bedouin other considerations were involved—the victim was said to have been a fine person, and his killer a constant trouble maker, and so on.

[1] See for comparison Robertson Smith, 1903. The tent is an area of sanctuary, and this extends to include the ropes also.